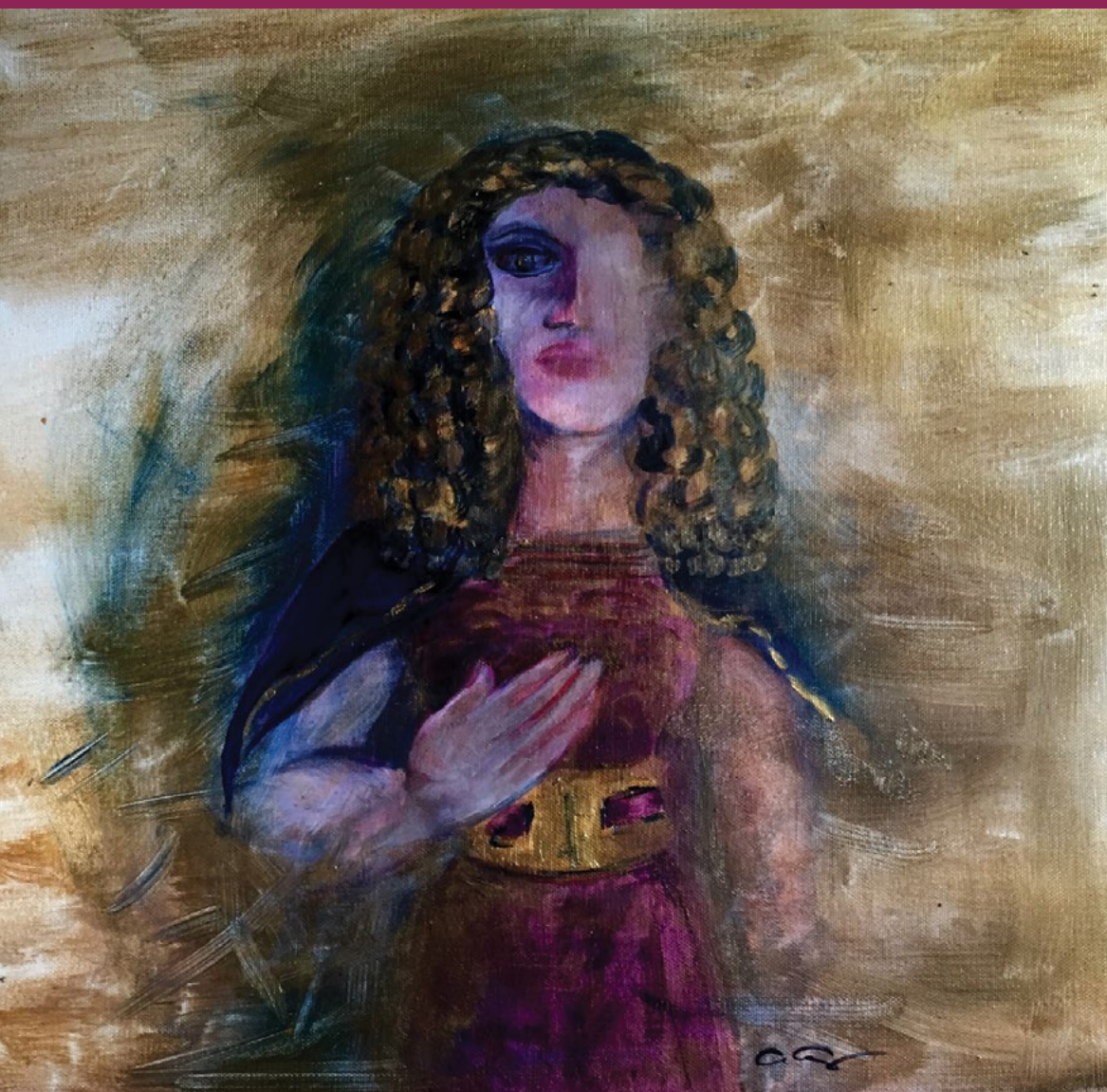


A Dignified Passage through the Gates of Hades

The Burial Custom of Cremation and the
Warrior Order of Ancient Eleutherna

Anagnostis P. Agelarakis



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A Dignified Passage through the Gates of Hades: The Burial Custom of Cremation and the Warrior Order of Ancient Eleutherna

*“..I put you under oath now.. remember me.. don’t leave me behind unburied and ungrieved..
cremate me with my panoply, and build a tomb for me.. for those that haven’t been yet to
remember..” (Homer, Odyssey: Book 11. 71-74)*

Prologue

When Helios’ golden chariot sets in the midst of Oceanus’ benthos, westward, at the far reaches of Mother Gaia, and Protogenos Uranus fleetingly illuminates hues of reddish and purplish blues may one hear Orthi Petra’s true whisper as she stands out in her most glorious stance. Her dress in the deep greens of Demeter’s mantle quivers in god-nursing Ida’s breath, trickling down from chthonic caves and clandestine ravines moving the first shadows of the trees to the hum of the running rivulet in a bliss of surging aromas of evening flowers. Only then, tapping into ones’ primordial state of mind, may the senses of the body truly feel the caress of Orthi Petra embracing with a magnificent beauty, in harmony and peacefulness, erasing the futility of ephemeral human thoughts and worries, yet edifying of the gravity of some eternal utterances. In such a cherished cuddle the ancients selected to nestle the portal to Hades for the journey of their beloved departed, faithfully entrusting the elemental earth of Orthi Petra to veil and to mutely maintain their legacy forever. And so, faithfully she did through the challenges of nearly three millennia, until in the ultimate judgment of the Fates the true saga of the ancients was destined not to be masked forever but to be retold and re-sung, offering us the opportunity to illuminate inner folds of Cleo’s parchments and the possibility to reconnect with the legacy of strong roots of old, a redeemer from the void of Lethe’s oblivion.

Introduction

Archaeological excavations at the Eleuthernian burial ground of Orthi Petra, headed by my colleague N. Chr. Stampolidis, continue to yield significant elements of the archaeo-anthropological record¹, the subject matter of continuous interdisciplinary research, outreach, national and international acclaim². Among a plethora of features discovered, unearthing components of a unique nexus to the Geometric-Archaic Periods, was an unspoiled time capsule in astonishing contextual preservation, a hand carved tomb with a *drómos* into the softer bedrock material of Orthi Petra. Designated in short as contextual association A1K1, the tomb as a funerary activity area yielded a remarkable collection of jar burials in complex internal tomb

¹ Stampolidis, N. Chr. 1990, ‘Eleutherna on Crete: An Interim Report on the Geometric-Archaic Cemetery’ *BSA*, 85, pp. 375-403; 1990a, ‘A Funerary Cippus at Eleutherna, Evidence of Phoenician Presence?’ *BICS* 37, pp. 99-106; 1993, *Archaia Eleutherna. To Geometriko-Archaiko Nekrotafeio tis Orthis Petras*, Rethymnon University of Crete Publications; 1996, *Reprisals. Contribution to the Study of Customs of the Geometric-Archaic Period*, Rethymnon: University of Crete; 1998, “Imports and Amalgamata: The Eleutherna Experience, Eastern Mediterranean-Cyprus- Dodecanese- Crete 16th- 6thBC”, *Proceedings of the International Symposium Rethymnon*, 1997, Athens, pp. 75-185; 2001, “Oi Tafikes pyres stin archaia Eleftherna. Aformi gia epanexetasi” *Cremations During Bronze Age and Early Iron Age*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, Athens, University of Crete, pp.187-196; 2002, ‘Eleutherna of the Early Iron Age, Relations with the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, Paper presentation, November 2nd, 2002, International Symposium ‘*The Aegean During the Early Iron Age*, Rhodes, Greece; 2004, ‘B: The Geometric / Archaic necropolis at Orthi Petra. West excavation sector III’, pp. 116-143, and ‘C:2B Finds from the necropolis: 1 The Geometric / Archaic necropolis at Orthi Petra’, pp. 234-295, *Eleutherna: Polis, Acropolis, Necropolis*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, Ministry of Culture, University of Crete, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens; Kotsonas, A 2008, *The Archaeology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra Eleutherna: The Early Iron Age Period*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon.

² Cf. Top 10 Discoveries of 2009, E. Bonn-Muller “Iron Age Priestesses, Eleutherna, Crete”, *Archaeology: A publication of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA)*, Jan/Feb, 2010, p:25; “Making of a Martiline” in Ed. Bonn-Muller, E. “Dynasty of Priestesses”, *Archaeology: A publication of the AIA* <http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/eleutherna/m...>; Inauguration of the Archaeological Museum of Eleutherna, June 19, 2016.



stratification, containing cremated human bones accompanied by a most noteworthy assembly of burial artifacts of exquisite wealth, along a multitude of traces of “fossilized” behavior left resolutely behind by the ancients in their transactions on the paths of their perceived realities and obligations of life norms, but also of the arcane matters of afterlife. Such evidentiary data of funerary behavior in conjunction with the rest of the archaeo-anthropological record afford the opportunity to document where possible and deduce where pertinent aspects of the transitional period, overlapping the end of life’s journey and the unfolding of death in light of a number of the principles, the values, and the modes that guided the lives of the ancients as mortuary habits may have the transcending power to be revealing of certain codes of *ante mortem* conduct, of main beliefs, of ideologies and viewpoints, characteristic of their ideational world and hence of their attitudes toward, and expectations of, *post mortem* life. Such understandings, based on critical and deductive thinking combined with the data offered through the scope of anthropological archaeology and forensics by the decoding of traces permanently recorded on bone and dental surfaces, construct a persuasive dialectic, regarding important facets of the human condition in Eleutherna from Geometric through Archaic times³.

Anthropological insights on monumental tomb A1K1

During the archaeo-anthropological analysis four hundred two (402) internal tomb A1K1 stratigraphic contexts were submitted for anthropological study⁴. Out of those, 250 (62.19% out of 402) were designated as “Non-Vase Contexts”, pertaining to both purposeful depositional events and/or conditions resulting from taphonomic circumstances and impacts within the adjoining spaces among 152 (37.81% out of 402) “Vase Contexts”, that represented vases for funerary purposes⁵. Of those 152 “Vase Contexts”⁶, 135 (88.815% out of 152) yielded a collection of 141 cremated human individuals, the focus of this paper with particular concentration on the male individuals (Graph 1).

In evaluating the range of patterns of anatomic distribution and variance of thermal alteration⁷ and preservation of all bone elements recovered and juxtaposed to inter-Aegean site comparisons⁸, it was

³ As reflected from the assembly of data retrieved from A1K1, also aided by narratives communicated by the sphere of its immediate milieu, cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon; 2004/2005, ‘Memories of Aristocracy from the Geometric Period Orthi Petra in Eleutherna-Mnimes tis Aristokratias apo tin Orthi Petra tis Geometrikis Eleuthernas’ *Proceedings of the International Symposium, The Aegean During the Early Iron Age, Rhodes*, Ministry of Culture, Rhodes Archaeological and Historical Research Institute, University of Crete, Greece, pp. 77-84.

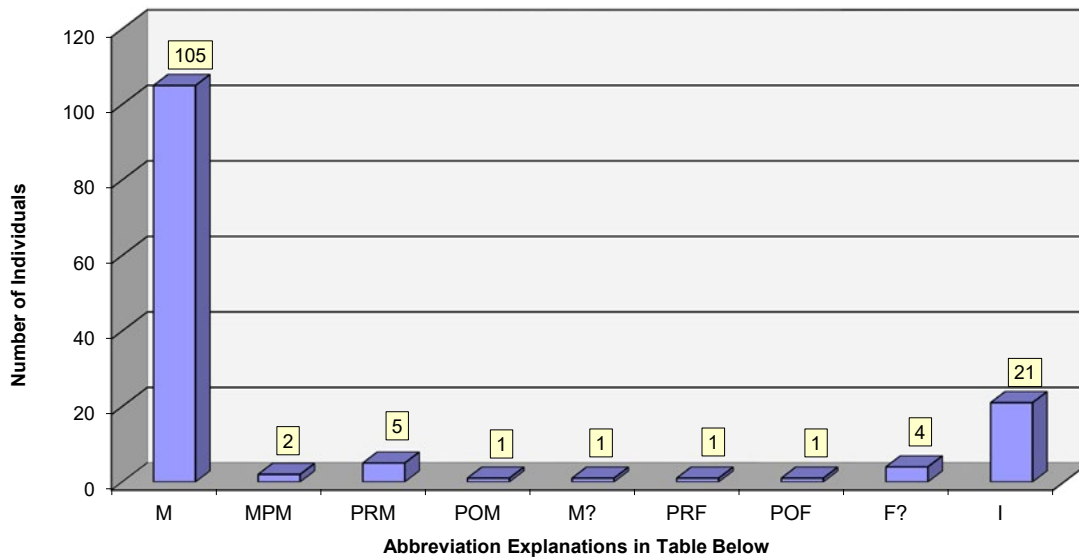
⁴ The Eleutherna Orthi Petra Tomb A1K1 Anthropology Project started in 1994, with additional major field seasons in 1995, 1996, 1997, and 2004.

⁵ Inspectional, mensurational and comparative study of the human skeletal collections of both contextual categories presented multiple independent lines of evidence suggesting that the human skeletal remains of both “Vase Contexts” and “Non-Vase Contexts”, at least in the majority of cases, must have been initially (during final interment) contextually and/or corporeally linked, cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, 2005.

⁶ The materials retrieved from within the 152 “Vase Contexts” (37.810%) out of a total of 402 archaeological contexts submitted for anthropologic study of tomb A1K1 at Orthi Petra presented to the anthropologist a complex archaeo-anthropological record simulating time capsule environments including but not limited to the following attributes: a) relatively secure units of interment deposits in reference to cultural activities focusing on funerary behavior; b) patterning of interment events involving at a minimum the deposit of human cremated remains collected and processed from the pyre bed; c) inclusions of non-perishable artifacts, faunal and floral offerings, as well as ecofactual information; and d) the anticipation that these materials would have been buffered at least in some ways from excessive taphonomic weathering, cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon.

⁷ Changes sustained not by taphonomic conditions, cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon.

⁸ Cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 1978, ‘Report on the Human Cremated Remains, Recovered in the Region of Drama’ *Archival Report*, Prehistoric and Classical Museum of Kavala, care of Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Ephor of Antiquities; 1986, ‘Analyses of Cremated Human Skeletal Remains Dating to the Seventh Century BC, Chios, Greece’ *Horos: Ena Archaeognostiko Periodiko* 4, pp. 145-153; 1997, ‘Investigations of Archaeo-Anthropological Nature at the Classical Necropolis of the Island of Thasos

A1K1: Sex Sub-Groups of 141 Cremated Homini Retrieved from 135 Vase Contexts

Graph Abbreviations	% Values per Category out of 141 Cremated Homini
M = Males	= 74.47%
MPM = Most Probably Males	= 1.42%
PRM = Probable Males	= 3.55%
POM = Possible Males	= 0.70%
M? = Males?	= 0.70%
PRF = Probable Females	= 0.70%
POF = Possible Females	= 0.70%
F? = Females?	= 2.84%
I = Indeterminate	= 14.90%

GRAPH 1: A1K1: SEX SUB-GROUPS OF 141 CREMATED HOMINI RETRIEVED FROM 135 VASE CONTEXTS

between 1979-1996' *Archaiologiko Ergo sti Makedonia kai Thraki*, 10B, pp. 770-794; 1998, 'The Osseous Record in the Western Necropolis of Amathous: an Archaeo-Anthropological Investigation' *Proceedings of the International Symposium: The Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th-6th c. B.C.*, Rethymnon, Crete, pp. 217-232; 2001, 'Complexity of factors implicated in the forensic assessments of ancient human cremated skeletal tissues including the possibility for methodological problems and biases of interpretation: Exploring the cases of the Geometric-Archaic burial ground at Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, Crete, and the Classical Necropolis of Abdera in Thrace, Greece' *Cremations during the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age*, edited by N. Stampolidis Athens, Greece: University of Crete, pp. 405-415; 2001, 'Cremation Burial in LM IIIC-SubMinoan Crete and the Cemetery at Pezoulos Atsipades' *Cremations in Bronze and Early Iron Age, Proceedings of Int. Symposium*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, Ministries of the Aegean, and of Culture, Greece, pp. 69-82; 2001, 'The Pantanassa Project Human Cremations, Rethymnon, Crete' in 'Tholos Grave of the Early Iron Age in Pantanassa Site, Amariou, of North Rethymnon' by E. Tegou in *Cremations in Bronze and Early Iron Age, Proceedings of Int. Symposium*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, Ministries of the Aegean and of Culture, Greece, pp. 121-153; 2001, 'Human Cremations of the Archaic period from Kardamaina of the Island of Kos' in E. Skerlou's, 'Human Cremations from Kardamaina site in Kos' *Cremations in Bronze and Early Iron Age, Proceedings of Int. Symposium*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, Ministries of the Aegean, and of Culture, Greece, pp. 258-285; 2001, 'Human Cremations of the Archaic Period from the Ancient City of Kos', in D. Mposnakis' 'Human Cremations from the City of Kos', in *Cremations in Bronze and Early Iron Age, Proceedings of Int. Symposium*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, Ministries of the Aegean, and of Culture, Greece, pp. 223-258; 2001, 'Human Cremations in Archaic Abdera' in E. Skarlatidou's 'The Cremation of Humans in Abdera During the Early Archaic Period' *Cremations in Bronze and Early Iron Age, Proceedings of Int. Symposium*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, Ministries of the Aegean, and of Culture, Greece, pp. 331-343; 2002, 'Physical anthropological report on the cremated human remains of an individual retrieved from the Amphipolis agora, in 'Excavating Classical Amphipolis' by Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Excavating Classical Culture*, edited by M. Stamatopoulou and M., Yeroulanou, BAR International Series 1031, pp. 72-73; 2003, 'Anthropologic Results of the Geometric Period Cemetery at Pythagoreion' *Archival Report. Samos Island Antiquities Authority*, Greece; 2004, 'The Clazomenaeon Colonization Endeavor

possible to establish that in the vast majority of cases the human individuals to be cremated had been placed on the pyre bed in supine and extended positions (Figure 1). The strength and extent of the fire during cremation exposure had been of high intensity, reaching very high temperatures, consuming not only soft tissues, but effecting considerable histological changes to the cellular and molecular organic components of bone tissue, as reflected by both inspectional and chemical archaeometric analyses, also cleaving up, shattering, and distorting bone structural anatomy and morphology in the process. Therefore, the condition of preservation of the cremated human skeletal collection suffered from bone structure fragmentation and anatomic incompleteness, as a result of the combined consequence of both mortuary and funerary, taphonomic, as well as archaeological in nature parameters⁹. Nonetheless, the study of the skeletal record offered a plethora of physical/forensic anthropological data (Figure 2), of unique value to the Bio-archeological sciences at large, and the geographic locale and temporal juncture in particular.

The warrior order of ancient Eleutherna

The vast majority of human cremated individuals represented males of adult age subgroups, the remains of which revealed considerable morpho-anatomic manifestations of bone robustness with very emphasized muscular imprints. Metric evaluations of bone elements¹⁰ further substantiated aspects of well-attained biological growth, development, and maturation, as well as processes of bone plasticity-changes on significantly emphasized cranio-infracranial loci. Such bio-anthropological data¹¹ readily reflected on the exceptional physical conditioning and strength capacities of the majority of male individuals involved; conditions of bodily robustness that required nearly daily strenuous activities in order to be both developed and subsequently retained, if not enhanced. A synopsis of such conditions, the result of intense *in vivo* physical activities, reflects on biological acclimatization processes of bone plasticity also considering environmental factors and gene pool dynamics of this Eleuthernian population sample. These activities pointed to intense locomotory behavior modes on precipitous geomorphologic substrate settings, requiring considerable anti-fatigue stamina, habitual bodily postures (one of which included a seating-resting positioning in hip joint hyperextension, knee joint hyperflexion and ankle joint hyperdorsiflexion), skeletomuscular levering activities involving considerable trajectory stress in cephalic-neck-to lower

at Abdera in Retrospect: Evidence from the Anthropological Record' *Klazomenai, Teos and Abdera: Metropoleis and Colony, Proceedings of International Symposium*, edited by. A. Moustaka, E. Skarlatidou, M.-C.Tzannes, and Y. Ersoy, 19th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities under the auspices of the Greek Ministry of Culture, Thessaloniki, Greece, pp. 327-349; 2005, 'Demographic Dynamics and Funerary Rituals as Reflected from Rhodian *Hadra* Urns' *Archival Report, Archaeological and Historical Institute of Rhodes*; 2005, 'The Naxos island Archaic period necropolis archaeological-anthropology project' *Preliminary Research Report, Archival*; 2007, 'Summarizing Anthropological-Demographic Report on Human Cremations from Burial Mounts of the Evros Region', in "The Burial Custom of Human Cremations in Evros, Thrace" by D. Terzopoulou, *Proceedings of the Inter. Symposium on Necropoles-Simata, Funerary Customs and Practices in the Mediterranean from 1100 BC/BCE to 400 AD/CE*. Ministry of Culture, Greece; 2010, 'Archaeological Anthropology at the Tumulus of Mikri Doxipara-Zoni' in *Horses and Wagons in the Ancient World* edited by D. Triantaphyllos, and D. Terzopoulou, Proceedings of Scientific Meeting, Orestiada-Greece, Sept. 30, 2010, pp. 127-131; 2011, 'References to the Anthropological Remains of *Demósion Sēma*, Salaminos 35-Athens : Archaeo-anthropological Research Results' (Αναφορά στο Ανθρωπολογικό Υλικό του Δημοσίου Σήματος, Σαλαμίνας 35-Αθήνα: Αποτελέσματα Ανθρωπολογικής- Αρχαιολογικής Ανάλυσης), *Archival Report, 3rd Eforeia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities*, Athens; 2013, 'On the Anthropology Project of 35 Salaminos Street Site of Kerameikos, Athens: A Brief Account'. *Archaeologikes Symboles*, Volume B: Attika, A' and Γ' Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities Authorities, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, pp:369-386; 2014, Lohne, J.J, and A. Agelarakis, 'Multielemental ICP-MS Analysis of Classical Period Archaeological Cremated Bone and Sediment Samples from Demosion Sema Polyandria of Salaminos 35 Site in Keramikos, Athens, Greece', *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, Vol. 14, No 2, pp. 259-273; 2016, Agelarakis, Pan. A., 'Geometric Period Plithos Burial Ground at Chóra of Naxos Island, Greece: Anthropology Report', ISBN 9781784913045, Archaeopress, Oxford.

⁹ Cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 1996, 'A Field and Laboratory Manual for Archaeologists, for the Excavation, Documentation, and Preservation of Human Osseous Remains' *Ariadne* 8, pp. 189-247; 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University, Rethymnon, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰ Cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, pp. 42-48.

¹¹ Cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, p. 34.



FIGURE 1: MOURNING SCENE AROUND A FALLEN WARRIOR, PLACED WITH HIS PANOPLY ON A SUPINE AND EXTENDED POSITION ON THE PYRE STRUCTURE, WITH PROVISIONS FOR HIS KATÁBASIS TO HADES

torso movements, substantial infracranial axial load-bearing stress¹², and an assortment of strenuous activities with emphasis at the appendicular components¹³. The upper extremities, had been involved in circumrotatory kinetics from the shoulder joint with upper arms and forearms in flexion/adduction, extension/abduction, also involving the elbow joints, and with powerful abilities for forearm supination and pronation actions, as well as extension-flexion of the wrists with very strong hand grasp capacities; skeleto-muscular functions that would have had practical applications in both occupational and habitual activities, in a wide range of sociocultural functions, in gymnastics, as well as in the persistently demanding processes of working with tools and/or training with thrusting and propelled weapons and their implementation in the field¹⁴.

In addition to the specificity of their male biological sex, the range of their age assessments showed a demographic profile with greater prevalence clustering within three age subgroups comprising the range of Adulthood,

¹² As substantiated by the record of vertebral compression trauma and influx of certain spondyloarthropathic changes; cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, pp. 34-36.

¹³ Based on skeleto-muscular markers, also supported by the record of osteoarthropathies, see footnote 12, supra.

¹⁴ In making references to a sample of weapons, javelin throwing, archery, and sling shooting require extensive and recurring training as long as the individual would endeavor to implement them successfully; may be used both in competition, in hunting, in a skirmish, or the battle field (not to mention the mastery of martial arts required in the training and use of close encounter battle tactics with the trusting spear, the sword, and the shield).



FIGURE 2: ANATOMICALLY RECONSTRUCTED CREMAINS OF A FALLEN WARRIOR, COMPRISING THE DISTAL THIRD OF HIS HUMERUS, THE REGION OF THE ELBOW JOINT AND THE PROXIMAL THIRD OF THE ULNA: RIGHT SIDE-DORSAL VIEW.

namely cresting within Young Adulthood (18 - 25 years), after j-curving by a near seven-fold from SubAdulthood, subsequently decreasing at Middle Adulthood (25.01 - 35 years), successively smoothly diminishing at Late Adulthood (35.01 - 45 years), and then sharply declining by more than three-fold among the *Maturus* (45.01-55 years)¹⁵, see Graph 2. Furthermore, the rigor of their skeletal body build, relative abilities for physical strength and endurance on corporeal kinetic functions, specifically under activities of load bearing stress, further reflected on the clustering of important morpho-anatomic characteristics shared among the membership of this population sample. Moreover, in evaluating esoteric survivorship prospects and probabilities of mortality between the age cohorts comprising this Eleuthernian male population subgroup, life expectancy values at the beginning of each age cohort revealed moderately limited longevity expectations for the individuals involved¹⁶ (Table 1). Hence, in concert with the privileges which may have been attainable to members of this select Eleuthernian population subgroup, there seems to also have been dire obligations and ominous consequences interweaved, concomitant with ample exposure to morbidity prone and mortality causing circumstances¹⁷.

The population sample under study had not been interred at once in tomb AIK1, but diachronically between the Geometric and Archaic Periods¹⁸, and although its apodosis infers to a résumé of a unique population sample, for purposes of better illustration of demographic and palaeopathologic profiles, as well as for addressing select bio-cultural issues, it is reiterated that they did not all perish because of a single coeval event, for example as casualties of a single battle at the theater of war, endemic strife, the strike of an epidemic, or environmental catastrophe causing starvation. On the latter, immediately reflective of their more than adequate in bulk and high in nutrient quality dietary intake were the evidentiary data obtainable from the patterns of biological growth and developmental processes recorded on their skeletal bodies, as explained above, whereas palaeopathologic investigations of jaws and dental fragments inferred on the very well prepared nature of foods consumed¹⁹.

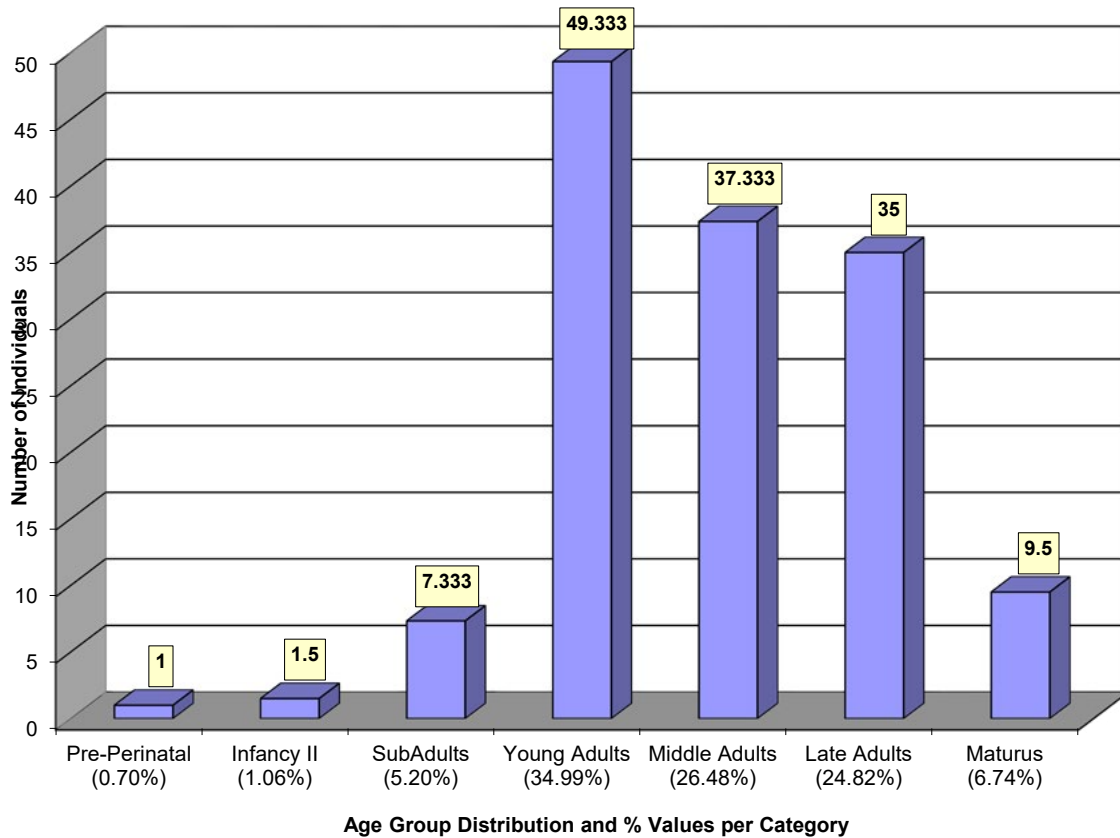
¹⁵ Cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb AIK1 of Orithi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, p. 408 (Sex Subgroups; also see Graph 1, *supra*), and p. 410 (Abridged Age Subgroups).

¹⁶ Cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb AIK1 of Orithi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, pp. 32-33 (Abridged Life Table).

¹⁷ Circumstances that proved fatal by statistically speaking calculated measures of short life expectancies; cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb AIK1 of Orithi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, pp. 32-34.

¹⁸ From the early 9th c. BC (~880 BC) to first quarter of 7th c. BC (~670/60 BC), and then at its *drómos* till the late 7th c. BC (~around 610/600 BC): personal communication with N. Chr. Stampolidis, Sept. 2011; cf. Stampolidis, N. Chr. (footnote 1, *supra*)

¹⁹ Dietary intake was likely very well prepared, the bulk of which must have been softer in mass consistency and most probably

A1K1: Abridged Age Sub-Groups of 141 Cremated Homini Retrieved from 135 Vase Contexts

GRAPH 2: A1K1: ABRIDGED AGE SUB-GROUPS OF 141 CREMATED HOMINI RETRIEVED FROM 135 VASE CONTEXTS

Furthermore, it was possible to document among the cremated remains (cremains) of this population sample a number of traumatic manifestations sustained *in vivo*, the majority having been of rather superficial and not of deeply penetrating nature, as far as it could be attested by bone surfaces, discerning a range of moderate to advanced stages of osteoblastic recovery. These osteoblastic responses, part of the healing processes, revealed that the specific traumatic impacts sustained had not been of *perimortem* nature, but had been alleviated by the intervention of cultural buffer mechanisms, aiming to deter morbidity²⁰. The vast majority of the observed traumatic conditions showed a prevalence on cranial vault antero-superior and antero-lateral loci simulating trauma patterns sustained during acts of conflict, of malicious intent, in combat engagements at relative close encounters. Cranial trauma cases had involved superficial diploic components, as far as it could be assessed on the focal (and as permitted by preservation of peripheral areas) region of trauma impacts, without adjoined fractures or fissures that had penetrated into endocranial table surfaces. Trauma cases sustained on appendicular anatomic areas followed in prevalence, trailed by infracranial axial vertebral body compression events that had been mainly caused by excessive load bearing stress afforded on vertebral columns.

rich in carbohydrates, as observed among populations receiving a major component of their food sources from agricultural products; cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orithi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymno.

²⁰ Considering, however, the degree of fragmentation and incompleteness of the cremains it was not possible to document and assess the potential of effectiveness ability of medical intervention in treating deeply penetrating wounds, which would have affected the skeletal system.

TABLE 1

Abridged Life Table										
	x	n _x	D _x	nd _x	l _x	q _x	nL _x	m _x	T _x	e _x
	6-11.9	6	1.5	1.071	100	0.0107	596.787	0.0018	2385.156	23.85
	12-17.9	6	7.333	5.238	98.929	0.0529	577.86	0.0091	1788.369	18.08
	18-24.9	7	49.333	35.238	93.691	0.3761	532.504	0.0662	1210.509	12.92
	25-34.9	10	37.333	26.666	58.453	0.4562	451.2	0.0591	678.005	11.6
	35-44.9	10	35	25	31.787	0.7865	192.87	0.1296	226.805	7.14
	45-55	10	9.5	6.786	6.787	1.0000	33.935	0.2	33.935	5
Sum			140	99.999						

x = Interval of age group in years

n_x = Width of age group interval x

D_x = Absolute number of individuals assessed within age group interval x

nd_x = Mortality of individuals within age group interval x, out of a group of 100 individuals

l_x ... = Survivorship within age group interval x

q_x = Probability of mortality within age group interval x

nL_x = Sum number of living years by all individuals between any two adjacent age group intervals x

m_x = Ratio of age specific mortality within each age group interval x

T_x = Sum of years of all individuals' life expectancies at the beginning of age interval x

e_x = Life expectation in years at the beginning of each age group interval x

Deciphering conferred funerary whispers

In support to physical anthropological and bio-anthropological lines of evidence that those interred in tomb A1K1 comprised a distinct population subgroup were not only the finest in quality funerary vases that contained their cremains, but also the nature and variety of accompanied utilitarian goods and materials, the assortments of exquisite weapons and panoply components, and the wealth of luxurious and most precious artifactual offerings²¹ indicative of substantial socio-economic power, affluence and prestige, as well as the ability to tap into a vast network of communications and trade routes that traversed the crossroads of Africa, Asia and Europe; manifestations indicative of a strong interphase with a regionally most influential, ruling, socio-political superstructure.

Further, dominating among the non-anthropologic organic materials recovered from the funerary contexts there were preserved faunal remnants, apparently of offerings and/or of funerary meals that had been shared for the last time²², by the so called *eudeipnoi* in honor of the dead; a component of

²¹ References to cultural materials of tomb A1K1, have been made by N. Chr. Stampolidis in publications recorded in footnote 1, *supra*, in numerous conference presentations, and educational outreaching endeavors; the wealth of cultural materials and burial artifacts are exhibited at the Eleutherna Archaeological Museum while the visitor may tour the adjacent site of the Orthi Petra burial ground within the lush Eleuthernian ecotone.

²² The majority of faunal materials recovered during the study of the anthropological remains were ovi-capricorn in nature; there was a near lack of faunal skeleto-anatomic diagnostic criteria preserved to substantiate genus differences between *Ovis* and *Capra*. There were additionally, in sequence of decreasing prevalence, remains of *Sus*, bovids, marine decapods (crab chelae elements), hares, canids (as a companion and not a food animal), marine molluscan (bivalve) fragments, birds, and tortoise. Further, there were soil faunal and floral specimens as a result of taphonomic conditions, cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, pp. 38-40, and p. 58. Given that the differences between the funerary faunal materials recovered between "Vase Contexts" and "Non-Vase Contexts", within A1K1, were mainly quantitative in nature, it appears that part of the funerary conduct of the pre-interment funerary meal and/or offerings (before the burial of the

the funerary ritual and rite of passage for the eternal crossing of Hades' gates. The sharing in the last meal with the dead²³ may provide clear evidence that the living participated in this function without the apportioned food having been implicated in *enagízein*²⁴, and hence without the intimation of fear from the potential of occult consequences associated with *ágos* to befall upon the living. It is suggested this could possibly reflect on sacrificial offerings (*sphágeia entémnein*) as carried out in appeasement of the chthonic deities and powers of the underworld, possibly including the celebratory honoring of an immortal hero, should relative descriptions of burial customs, even if of subsequent chronological periods, as recorded in the available historical record, reflect on the potentiality of their earlier implementations²⁵. Should the latter have been a probable case, it may be suggested that such an immortal hero-god could have meaningfully been an ancestral kin hero to the Dorians of Eleutherna, such as Herakles; his mortal form dwelling in Hades. Hence, the sharing of sacrificial animal portions in homage to the dead, and/or on behalf of the dead during the funerary process could have served the function of contemplatively implicating the deceased under the aegis of the kin hero in seeing the Eleuthernian descendant-warrior off to a good journey, to the *katachthónic* lands of his kinfolds (Figure 3) among "...the glorious tribes of the dead..."²⁶. On the other hand, as reflected by a select number of faunal remains showing a significant level of thermal alteration, reaching up to sub-calcined degrees, and displaying an absence of mechanical, defleshing, cut marks may represent cases of burned offerings²⁷, indicative of *enagísmata*²⁸ to the dead, if the understanding of this chthonic function may offer a tangible reflection of a burial custom and its implementation in this Eleuthernian-A1K1 context; reflective as this may be of the distribution of separately apportioned offerings, dispensed to different recipients, for different functions, in the observance of the funerary ritual. Regarding biota offerings to the dead of symbolic nature, that most probably did not serve the function of food offerings and meant to not be shared with the living, there were dry bone remains of non-edible cranio-faunal components, including horn components as indicated by preserved ovi-capricorn horn-core components, fragments of small sized *Malacostraca-Decapoda* (possibly *Brachyuran*) claws, small dry bird bone fragments, as well as carbonized floral offerings²⁹.

funerary vase containing the cremains inside A1K1) devised (that is as an intentional funerary activity, with the greatest level of assessment certainty retrieved from the "Non-Vase Contexts") that a number of animal food shares had to "accompany" the physical remains of the departed, even though portions of meat had been further processed/removed from a number of those food shares by the living (not necessarily exclusively for funerary meal consumption, but possibly even for a burned offering), as attested by mechanical flesh-detaching cut marks at specific loci of origin and insertion of muscular tissue--differential in nature and characteristics from other butchering and animal dressing cut marks available on relative faunal bone remains; cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, p. 65. Research on this matter is ongoing including but not limited to the stratigraphic and chronological relations of such contexts within A1K1 and the parameter of taphonomically induced implications.

²³ The fact that faunal remains, with light cut mark traces of meat portions removed from the bone substrate (the latter appear in both dry and slightly thermally altered forms) should not necessarily support a concept that they may be "*deipnon*" remnants from a funerary function exclusively held at a spatial allocation centered at, or, around the dwelling of the departed or other similar designated lodging. These faunal remains could also indicate a sharing of meal portions nearby the pyre bed which then could reflect on a funerary function acted upon closer to a pre-interment juncture and in adjacency to the domain of the burial ground. It is therefore possible that such animal remnants could represent the act of sacrifice tied into the pre-interment funerary rights, for the dead, in the proximity or at the relative domain of the burial ground.

²⁴ Although in a later time period than the context of A1K1, see Herodotus, Book II. 44, regarding the recording of a differential function between sacrifice, "θύουσιν" to the immortal Olympian Hercules, and the bringing of offerings, "εναγίζουσι", to hero Hercules; further explanations on this differential function and particularly in meal sharing, "εσθίουσιν", during sacrifice to Hercules, are offered by Pausanias in Book II. 1

²⁵ See footnote 24, *supra*.

²⁶ Translation by A. T. Murray and revised by G. E. Dimock, Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 2002, of fragment "κλυτά ἐθνεα νεκρῶν", Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 10. 526 .

²⁷ Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 10. 531-533 [...where after the skinning of the sacrificed ovi-capricorn animals (μήλα), but in the particular context a ram and a black ewe, they were to be completely burned amidst prayers to the gods...].

²⁸ In later periods called *olokautómata*; see also footnote 23, *supra*.

²⁹ For an overall review of burial offerings in general at Orthi Petra cf. Stampolidis N. Chr., including but not limited to the references recorded in footnotes 1, and 21, *supra*.





FIGURE 3: A CONGREGATION OF ELEUTHERNIANS IN THE ASPHODEL MEADOWS OF HADES.

Overall the faunal remains comprised both feral and domesticated animals, encompassing terrestrial, aquatic, and avian catchment areas (Tables 2, and 3), indicative it is suggested of the embedded symbolism on the expressed physical world dimensionality of the Eleuthernians, but also of their broad specialization abilities in acquiring and thoughtfully utilizing resources during the observance of this funerary ceremony from an extensive network of environmental components, harnessed as they were into funerary vase microenvironments in particular as constituent elements of the larger domain of tomb A1K1 in general. Hence, all cultural materials and perishable offerings involved for honoring and commemorating the identity, status, and achievements of the dead in tomb A1K1 reflected on notions of monumentality³⁰, from the unit of the single funerary vase to the collective cluster of funerary vases; add to that not only the splendor of the rest of burial artifactual assemblages, but also the most central and imposing positioning of tomb A1K1 within the burial ground of Orthi Petra.

Standing upright in Hades

Noteworthy to the study of funerary customs and practices regarding cremations might be to annotate that the remains of the cremated human individuals in tomb A1K1 had been gathered from the pyre bed with

³⁰ An understanding which without available texts may assign “...meaning...” to the actions of the ancients, cf. Morris, I 1992, “Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity, p. 17 (Symbols)

TABLE 2

Types of Faunal Remains Retrieved from 105 (69.07%) out of 152 Vase Contexts		
Category and Level of Specimen Identification		Number of Vase Contexts and Faunal Contents (*)
AVES	Avi-Faunal	6 (1 vase contained bones stained with cupric acid)
MAMMALIAN	Mammalian Animal	1
TERRESTRIAL HERBIVOROUS	Bovid	1 (with butchering cut marks)
>>	Possible Bovid	1
>>	Suspected Bovid	1
>>	Ovi-Caprical	25 (1 vase contained cupric acid stained bones, 2 with butchering /consumption cut marks, 3 with horncores)
>>	Most probably Ovi-Caprical	1 (with butchering/consumption cut marks)
>>	Probably Ovi-Caprical	2 (1 vase contained dental remains with yellow staining)
>>	Possibly Ovi-Caprical	1
>>	Suspected Ovi-Caprical	5
>>	Ovi-Caprical in Size	2
>>	Hare	1 (surfaces stained with cupric acid)
>>	Hare in Size	1
>>	Herbivorous Animal	1
TERRESTRIAL OMNIVOROUS	<i>Sus</i>	7 (1 vase contained bones stained with cupric acid)
>>	Suspected <i>Sus</i>	2
TERRESTRIAL CARNIVOROUS	Canid Animal	3
TERRESTRIAL INSECTIVORAN	Shrew Sized	2 (1 vase contained bones stained with cupric acid)
TERRESTRIAL SOIL FAUNA	Soil Fauna	4 (2 vases contained bones stained with cupric acid)
>>	Suspected Soil Fauna	1
>>	Rodent Remains	7
>>	Single Rodent Remains	11 (2 vases contained bones stained with cupric acid)
>>	Multiple Rodents	14
TERRESTRIAL MOLLUSCAN	Land Gastropods	44 (1 vase contained bones stained with cupric acid)
MARINE MOLLUSCAN	Bivalves	5
>>	Shell Fragments	2
NON-SPECIFIC MOLLUSCAN	Molluscan Fragments	1
MARINE DECAPODS	Crab <i>chela</i>	11
MARINE CRUSTACEAN	Crustacean	1
NON-SPECIFIC FAUNAL	Other Faunal Remains	28 (5 vases contained bones stained with cupric acid, 1 with butchering/consumption cut mark)
SUSPECTED FAUNAL	Suspected Faunal	4 (2 vases contained bones stained with cupric acid)
POSSIBLE FAUNAL	Possible Faunal	1
(*) This table represents faunal remains retrieved and identified per vase. It is the case that any vase may have contained more than one genus/species of faunal remains.		

the outermost care and zealousness for subsequent handling of the funerary ritual. This was evidenced by a pattern of adequate representation of bone elements from the entire skeletal anatomic structure, per human individual, among those that happened to have been better preserved with fewer post-interment taphonomic impacts. Bone elements comprised all domains of cranial, postcranial axial, and appendicular skeletal areas³¹, including larger in size as well as small and irregular in shape bone elements³² which could have been easily missed if they had been collected by inexperienced eyes and hands at the quenched pyre bed.

³¹ Representing skeletal anatomic loci of ventro-dorsal, mesio-lateral, supero-inferior, and ecto-endosteal components.

³² Such as phalangeal fragments and carpal bones.

TABLE 3

Types of Faunal Remains Retrieved from 195 (78%) out of 250 Non-Vase Contexts		
Category and level of specimen identification		Number of Non-Vase Contexts and Faunal Contents (*)
AVES	Avi-Faunal	5 (3 contexts yielded 4 claws suspected to represent a hawk sized raptor(s))
	Probable Avi-Faunal	1
	Possible Avi-Faunal	1
MAMMALIAN	Mammalian Animal	29 (8 contexts yielded bones stained with cupric acid, 1 with butchering/consumption cut marks)
	Most Likely Mammalian	1
	Probable Mammalian	1 (with cupric acid staining)
TERRESTRIAL HERBIVORAN	Bovid	1 (with cupric acid staining)
	Ovi-Caprical	65 (9 contexts yielded cupric acid stained bones, 3 with butchering /consumption cut marks, 7 with horncores)
	Most probably Ovi-Caprical	5 (with cupric acid staining)
	Most Likely Ovi-Caprical	11 (3 contexts yielded bones with cupric acid staining, 1 with horncore)
	Probably Ovi-Caprical	4
	Likely Ovi-Caprical	9 (2 contexts yielded bones with cupric acid staining, 1 with butchering/consumption cut marks)
	Possible Ovi-Caprical	3
	Ovi-Caprical in Size	5 (1 context yielded bones with cupric acid staining)
	Hare in Size	2
	Herbivorous Animal	2 (1 context yielded bones with cupric acid staining)
	<i>Sus</i>	17 (3 contexts yielded bones with cupric acid staining)
	Possible <i>Sus</i>	3
	Suspected <i>Sus</i>	3 (2 contexts yielded bones with cupric acid staining)
TERRESTRIAL CARNIVORAN	Canid Animal	6 (1 context yielded bones with cupric acid staining)
	Likely Canid Animal	1
	Carnivorous Animal	1
TERRESTRIAL INSECTIVORAN	<i>Mustelina</i>	1
	Shrew sized or Rodent	1
TERRESTRIAL SOIL FAUNA	Soil Fauna	6 (4 contexts yielded bones with cupric acid staining)
	Rodent Remains	18 (8 contexts yielded bones with cupric acid staining)
	Possible Rodent Remains	1
TERRESTRIAL REPTILIAN	Tortoise	1
TERRESTRIAL MOLLUSCAN	Land Gastropods	26
	Probable Land Gastropod	1
MARINE MOLLUSCAN	Bivalves	8
MARINE DECAPODS	Crab <i>Chelae</i>	5
NON-SPECIFIC FAUNAL	Other Faunal Remains	62 (15 contexts yielded bones with cupric acid staining, 1 with butchering/consumption cut mark)
(*) This table represents faunal remains yielded from “Non-Vase Contexts”. It is the case that any of these contexts may have yielded more than one genus/species of faunal remains.		

The diachronic pattern documented among A1K1 funerary vase contexts, at a 100% observation ratio, representing a careful and methodical recovery approach of cremated bone elements, despite a considerable anatomic displacement that would have been caused by the effects of pyre exposure, readily reflects on a burial custom and practice deeply embedded in the cultural norms and funerary rituals of the Eleuthernian population. Strikingly enough, the meticulous processes of collection and care of disarticulated cremains and



FIGURE 4: A SCHEMATIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BURIAL CUSTOM OF PLACING WARRIOR CREMAINS INTO FUNERARY VASES, TO ANATOMICALLY ARTICULATE A SYNTHESIS OF THE "SECOND BODY"

their eventual placement in the funerary vases³³ was not of a haphazardly commingled nature; rather it was charted based on a specific code of conduct. The emplacement of cremains in the urns was arranged on very specific set of principles, in relation to skeleto-anatomic relations, to simulate in a columniation the positioning of a somewhat anatomically articulated skeletal individual, in a seated to an upright body position--foot bones at the base of the vase, and progressively ascending proximally to the cranial bones toward the neck and rim of the vase, while the appendicular bones were to rest rather vertically on their long axes along the sides of the vase body (Figure 4). This is suggested may have symbolically facilitated the post-pyre³⁴ existential ability of the departed to easier reach³⁵, and subsequently navigate³⁶, conforming to a rather decorously, anatomically, articulated representation of the physical individual *ante*, the uncharted substrates of Hades; to join in ranks with the "tribe" of his *makarites* comrades and *tritopátōres* ancestors (Figure 5), thus in defiance of eternal obscurity and muted namelessness, enabling the fallen warrior to show his status and standing to the dwellers of the Asphodel Meadows, and if need be to even defend himself from others in Erebus³⁷ and to even show his wrath³⁸ or threaten and/or endeavor to seek punitive justice bravely brandishing the blades of spearheads and swords, part of his panoply³⁹, thoughtfully and caringly placed next to him by his beloved ones, dwellers of the upper world⁴⁰. The living, it is suggested, had done so in synthesis of their ideational world regarding afterlife, in deference and commitment for the departed, treating

the cremains with honor⁴¹ and admiration, with deep obligation and pride of ancestry, of the sense of belonging to a unique brotherhood in arms, but also to an inimitable spiritual kin⁴². Such funerary post-

³³ The anthropology team under the supervision of Professor A. Pan. Agelarakis was involved in the documentation, removal, and identification of inorganic materials and organic remains retrieved from within a considerable number of funerary "Vase Contexts", and "Non-Vase Contexts" during the anthropological archaeology analyses relative to tomb A1K1.

³⁴ See Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 11. 218-222.

³⁵ See Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 11. 58.

³⁶ See Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 11 *in passim* on the locomotory abilities and body movements, bodily postures and sensory and communication capacities of the dead.

³⁷ Given that the dead are not safe from the harm of the blade, as exemplified by Odysseus who when in Hades would be able to ward off with his sharp sword the weakened heads of dead men (of ghosts of many men) and of women from approaching close to the (sacrificial) blood, Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 10. 535-537, and Book 11 *in passim*; cf. Garland, R 1985, *The Greek Way of Death*, Cornell University Press, pp. 88-94.

³⁸ See Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 11. 543-564.

³⁹ (Aggregating toward Odysseus' libation pit there were) many men wounded by bronze covered spears, men killed in the battlefield bearing their blood-stained panoply. Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 11. 40-41.

⁴⁰ (Elpenor's plea to Odysseus in Hades) "...I urge you to remember me. Don't leave me behind unmourned and unburied..." Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 11. 71-72, and "...cremate me with my panoply as it is with me, and raise a tomb for me..." Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 11. 74. Further, cf. Stampolidis N. Chr., as recorded in footnotes 1 and 21, *supra*, regarding *in passim* the warriors of tomb A1K1 and the assemblages of their weapons and overall funerary belongings and artifacts.

⁴¹ As clarified by Herakleitos "...gods and men honor those who are killed in battle..." (B24) Vermeule, E., 1979, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, University of California Press, p. 121.

⁴² A spiritual kin, not just of a kinship by agnatic or matrilineal descent, inclusive of the collective honor and otherworldly powers

pyre handlings and preparations in forming a so-called “second body”⁴³ of the dead inside the funerary vase before final interment, it is suggested, are meaningfully expressive of a heroization treatment of the departed preceding their deposition in the monumental tomb A1K1⁴⁴; a ritual of burial custom and practice that held with an unbroken sequence for at least eleven human generations⁴⁵ in Eleutherna, as substantiated from the evidentiary data of tomb A1K1. These concepts and norms must have apparently been shared not only by the family of origin of the fallen, but possibly even more importantly by the larger collective of the Eleuthernians, the consensus of whom, and/or a more centralized authority-unit thereof, were carrying out the political decision to honor, inter, and memorialize the particular cohort membership not in individual/family grave sites but in a profoundly select one, and according to a specific pattern which was intended to be communal⁴⁶ and of monumental characteristics (hence introducing conditions which in the particular context would have diminished the boundaries between *kédos oikeion* versus *kédos allótrion*, solidifying the will and the identity of those living under the rays of the sun while bestowing not only individual but as importantly collective powers to those members in the domain of Persephone and Hades); activities perceived under the prism of anthropological archaeology as the conduct of an established, empowered, visionary non-egalitarian in nature system of social structure and of political leadership, establishing and strengthening foundation roots on an ideational framework that respected transgenerational wisdom and legacy, augmenting a distinctive identity in the name of Eleutherna, its people and esteemed hegemony.

Having established from independent anthropological archaeology lines of evidence the understanding that the population sample under study was in deed a select Eleuthernian population subgroup, it has been suggested that tomb A1K1 should be considered as the burial place of highly revered, brave, individuals. This was a *heróon* monument, a communal tomb of heroes⁴⁷. Their courageous deeds, both as warriors and distinguished leaders, had set precedents that were to be interwoven with the legacy of ancient Eleutherna as attested by the honors of their mortuary, funerary, and epitaphic treatments. Furthermore, the manifestations of burial customs and practices, documented in retrospect, reflecting on at least a few spectra of their essential meanings⁴⁸, apparently included the implementation of elements of a precedent concept of *pátrios nómos*⁴⁹, that was unswervingly in effect in honor of the duly repatriated dead⁵⁰, their subsequent interment in the ancestral-communal grave, as well as their veneration as the Eleuthernian order of heroic ancestors.

of its fallen members and their legacy interlaced with both the deeds, memories and aura of their physical forebears and sacred primordial ancestors.

⁴³ Although from an archaeological view point the interred funerary vase holding cremains is considered as a “secondary burial” given that there were mortuary processes and procedures involving multiple, sequential, decorum layers of handling the remains that resulted from the burning of the corpse after its exposure to the pyre bed, the expression “second body” may refer here to the conscientious reassembling of the cremains as to simulate an anatomically articulated body of sorts inside the funerary vase before its final interment in the tomb. For a cultural anthropologic narrative related to the use and meaning of the “second body” cf. Seremetakis, C 1991, *The Last Word: Women, Death and Divination in Inner Mani*, University of Chicago Press, pp. 189-212.

⁴⁴ Representing in an emblematic way, within the contextual association and in relation to the rest of the burial ground, the collective of the corpus of this unique Eleuthernian group.

⁴⁵ From ca. 880 BC to ~600 BC = 280 years ÷ 25 years per generation = 11.2 generations.

⁴⁶ Such an intimate clustering of the skeletal individuals affixed inside their funerary vases at A1K1 (for an archaeological contextual description, see footnote 1, *supra*) physically and symbolically reflected on a cherished “tribal” aggregation, as similarly described in Homer’s narrative of “κλυτά ἐθνεα νεκρῶν”, see footnote 25, *supra*.

⁴⁷ Cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, p. 66 and in conjunction with the rest of the archaeological record cf. Stampolidis N. Chr. (footnote 1, *supra*).

⁴⁸ Considering that certain matters and esoteric details regarding the observance of the Geometric and Archaic funerary rites and ceremonies, in obligation and honor to the fallen warriors, in Eleutherna may either remain unknown, unanswered, or partially understood.

⁴⁹ As described centuries later by Thucydides, *Historia*, II (B), 34.

⁵⁰ Compare for example with the interment of so many significant heroes and even of rather ordinary warriors of the Iliad, such as *Elpenor*, see Homer, *Odyssey* Book 12. 8-14, his cremains would have been interred in foreign lands.



FIGURE 5: AN ELEUTHERNIAN WARRIOR AT THE THRESHOLD OF CROSSING THE GATES OF HADES

Epilogue

In attending to but a few of the funerary anthropological issues, aiming toward a nexus with aspects of the sacred and the ideational concepts on life and afterlife of the Eleuthernians during the Geometric to Archaic Periods, the author does not claim to have yet searched deep enough, admittedly recognizing the potential shortcomings of explanatory weakness on matters of complex funerary behaviors which are distanced in time by nearly three millennia. Yet, it clearly appears that the practice of an early decorum of mortuary and funerary customs witnessed at Orthi Petra's A1K1 monumental tomb reflected on essential cultural elements that had been bequeathed in the dynamics of the human condition in ancient Eleutherna; distinctive components of transcending mortuary norms and funerary rituals that have been perceptible both in the archaeological and historical records of the ancient Hellenic world.

In working with cremations in the domain of the ancient Greek World since 1978, the earliest archaeo-anthropological documentation of the intendent placement of cremains allocated inside funerary vases as preparatory measures for the arrangement of the "second body", in a relative seated to an upright anatomic position, was first established by the author at the monumental tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna⁵¹, especially within the range of its ninth and eight centuries BC deposits. Subsequently, the author documented a single case⁵² of similar manifestations among the funerary vases of the monumental *polyándreia* tombs of Paroikia-Paros dating to the late eighth century BC⁵³, and then among a number of white ground Hadra style hydriae recovered from the Hellenistic Period⁵⁴ burial ground component of the ancient city of Rhodes.

To date, this burial custom appears to have exclusively involved male individuals, apparently implicated either in combat endeavors or linked with duties in the military arts and affairs, having already comprised at an *in vivo* social environment a membership, and/or having been exalted at a *post mortem* juncture to members of a unique superstructure in their respective social systems and ideational organization.

In hopefully sharing results on this ongoing archaeo-anthropological endeavor, relevant to the particular placement of cremains within funerary vases, it should be very important to record as a matter of protocol [particularly when physical/biological anthropologists may not be participant members when extracting at the laboratory the contents of funerary vase(s) for the retrieval of burial artifacts, inorganic and organic archaeological materials, as well as the anthropological materials] the synthesis of the internal funerary vase stratification with a focus on the anatomic diagnostic sequencing of cremain elements as arranged by the ancients; comprising essential data for subsequent archaeo-anthropologic and archaeometric analyses. Such an approach will aid the goal to more accurately detect and accordingly chart the possible implementation and extent in space and time of this burial custom in the ancient Hellenic world.

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The author thanks Prof. Argiro Agelarakis, MFA, for her long term assistantship in the anthropological research project of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, and for the front and back cover illustrations representing

⁵¹ Cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna, A Narrative of the Bones: Aspects of the Human Condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*, Publications of the University of Crete, Rethymnon, p. 66.

⁵² The only funerary amphora, serving as a Paroikia archaeological museum exhibit sample, that had not been emptied of its contents in earlier years by museum personnel for the required procedures of post excavation cultural resource management regarding the conservation and preservation of organic and inorganic materials contained.

⁵³ Cf. Zafeiropoulou, F., and Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, "Warriors of Paros", *Archaeology* 58.1, pp. 30-35; Agelarakis, Pan. A., Paros Polyandreia, Report in preparation.

⁵⁴ Cf. Agelarakis, Pan. A., 2005, "Demographic Dynamics and Funerary Rituals as Reflected from Rhodian Hadra Urns" *Archival Report*, care of Giannikouri, A., Dir., Archaeological and Historical Institute of Rhodes, 2005; "2004-2005 Report on Human Cremated Remains of Hadra style Funerary Hydriae from the Hellenistic Necropolis of Rhodes" *Archival Report*, care of Giannikouri, A., Dir., Archaeological and Historical Institute of Rhodes 2006.



an Eleuthernian *Kóre* (she emerges in veneration for the fallen warriors' virtuous abnegation), and the *órama* of an Eleuthernian *tritopátor* in Hades. Thanks are also extended to Shannon Fitzgerald, BA, and Argiro Agelarakis for illustrating the author's concepts on the scenes around the pyre (Fig. 1) and the congregation in Hades (Fig. 3), perceptions for which he assumes all responsibility. Likewise, figures 4 and 5 were illustrated by Argiro Agelarakis, whereas budding archaeologist Panayotis A. Agelarakis commented on earlier versions of the text and its figures.

The author dedicates the article to the memory of the Eleuthernian warriors, and to the Cretan *tritopáttores* *Meríónes* and *Idomeneús*.

Anagnostis Pan. Agelarakis

